THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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'BUS GIRLS STRIKE FOR EQUAL PAY.

Although we missed our appointments we were glad to walk when we realised that the women 'bus and tram conductors were striking to secure the observance of the important principle of equal pay for men and women.

The question has arisen on the refusal of the Committee on Production to allow the 5*s*. weekly war bonus which has recently been awarded to the men to be extended to the women also. The women are determined to get that bonus because of the far-reaching principle involved. Said one of them with a buoyant determination: "We shall not give in even if it means a month's holiday; we women are going to stand strong to the last and will not go back till they tell us we've got that 5*s*. We were engaged on the promise that we should get equal pay and we will have it."

The men say that the work the women conductors are doing is harder than that of the men conductors before the war because, as every one is unpleasantly aware, the reduction in the number of vehicles has led to veritable fighting by crowds of would-be passengers who are pressed by those behind against the barring arm of the conductress, stretched out, either to secure a passage way for those who are dismounting, or to signify that the 'bus is full. Many inconsiderate men and women try to force their way in in spite of her, and when at last the 'bus starts she has five people standing inside where the pre-war conductor had none.

In the spring when all the workers demanded a bonus the Committee on Production awarded £1 a week to the men and to those women who were engaged on the definite understanding that their pay was to be the same as the men's. The London conductresses got the £1 bonus, but in the provinces many did not and some got as little as 4*s*. Yet surely the equal pay understanding applied to all the women as when they were first engaged on the trams and 'buses the men only agreed to work with them on condition that there should be equal pay for men and women. In July, when another claim was made for an increase, the workers demanded complete equality with the men for all the women, but the Committee on Production refused to assent.

Therefore the women have taken the matter into their own hands. The movement began at a private meeting of the women at Willesden Garage on Friday, August 16th, where is was decided to strike immediately, without waiting either for trade union officials or employers. The Willesden women conductors solidly refused to work on Saturday morning; they were followed by Acton and Hackney—soon the strike had spread all over London. Some of the women on the trams also struck.

The trade unions concerned are the London and Provincial Vehicle Workers' Union, to which most of the 'bus workers belong, and the Amalgamated Association of Tramway and Vehicle Workers, of which the main proportion of L.C.C. tram workers are members. Mr. Robert Williams of the Transport Workers' Federation (to which both the L.P.V.W.U. and the A.A.T.V.W. are affiliated), urged the women to return to work pending negotiations, and notices calling attention to this were posted in the L.C.C. depots. The majority of the tramway workers remained at work. Mr. Ben Smith and the Executive of the Vehicle Workers' Union, at a meeting on Saturday night endorsed the action of the strikers, so large a proportion of whom belonged to their union. At a Blackfriars mass meeting on Sunday Mr. Smith moved a resolution urging an extension of the strike to the provinces. He asked the meeting to consider this very seriously as it meant "throwing arbitration overboard," but in the audience of 2,000 no hand was raised against the resolution. Mr. Beal, London District Council N.U.R., said that when 128,000 miners on strike were put under the Munitions Act they refused even to consider returning to work till they were withdrawn from under the Act. He said that in a fortnight the women railway workers would be striking for the same reason.

Many of the Tube girls who belong to the N.U.R. have struck in sympathy with the 'bus girls. The tramway workers displayed less spirit, though some conductresses soon came out. The trams are under the control of the L.C.C. and various local councils. Under the latter the war bonus varies from 9*s*. to 16*s*.

The women conductors are fighting a big fight with splendid spirit. Good luck to them!

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR ON PEACE TERMS.

The situation in Australia since the anti-conscription vote has been one of rapidly increasing tension between the Labour Party and the Nationalist (= Liberals × Labour seceders) Government. The consequent anti-war tendency of the Labour Party has now come to a head with the decision of the Inter-State Labour Conference, at Perth on June 25th last, not to participate any further in recruiting unless the Allies declare their immediate readiness to enter into peace negotiations on a basis of no annexations and no penal indemnities.

The process leading up to this decision may be traced from the Conference convened by the Governor-General in April to consider the question of recruiting. This Conference represented the Labour and Nationalist Parties from each State the Employers' Federations and the Industrial Labour Movement. The Labour delegates took the opportunity to bring forward matters which they declared to be prejudicial to recruiting, viz., victimisation of strikers, de-registration of the Unions that took part in the strike, the attempt to force men to enlist by economic pressure, the heavy penalties imposed upon political offenders, especially in connection with the last conscription campaign, the abuse of the censorship, and the failure to make adequate provision for returned soldiers. As a result the Government and employers promised to rectify those matters—re-employ strikers, re-register the Unions, put a stop to economic conscription, &c. Finally, the following resolution was passed:—

"That this conference, meeting at a time of unparalleled urgency, resolves to make all possible efforts to avert defeat at the hands of German militarism, and urges the people of Australia to unite in a whole-hearted effort to secure the necessary reinforcements under the voluntary system."

While the various Nationalist Governments, represented by the Premiers, were bound by this resolution and the promises made, the Labour representatives, having no definite mandate, had to refer the matter to the various bodies that they represented, and here the centre of interest passes to these Labour bodies. One section, headed by Mr. Morby, the President of the Sydney Trades Council held that the Conference had resulted in a bargain, and that in order to secure the re-registration of Unions, &c., the Trade Union Movement, as such, must begin a whole-hearted recruiting campaign. Hence Mr. Morby, after he had presented his report on May 17th, moved the motion carried at the Conference. There was most violent opposition from the strong body of class-conscious unionists known as the Industrial section, who are responsible for the scheme of Industrial Unionism which is at present being officially considered by the Australian Labour Movement. This section now commands a majority on the Sydney Trades Council, but has not yet captured the executive. Their leader, Mr. Judd, moved a long counter-resolution declaring the war to be capitalist in origin and in aim, citing the Secret Treaties, the German peace offers, the Lansdowne letters, &c., and concluding:—

"Therefore, whilst fully expecting anti-Labour forces to misrepresent and calumniate our action, we refuse to take part in any recruiting campaign and call upon the workers of this and all other belligerent countries to urge their respective Governments to secure immediately an armistice on all fronts and initiate negotiations for peace."

After a protracted controversy and three adjournments, during which a violent press campaign was carried on against the "seditionists and disloyalists," this resolution was finally carried by the Sydney Trades Council by a majority of 104 to 75. Thereon the press went nearly mad and set out to promote a split in the Council. A much advertised meeting of the Conservatives was held to consider the formation of a separate council. Not one fifth of the Unions, however, affiliated to the present Council are joining the new body, and these only small Conservative craft unions of little importance with the possible exception of the Electrical Trades. (This is the split which *The Times* has reported.)

On June 1st the State Labour Party (New South Wales) met and considered in camera a series of drastic resolutions on peace, asserting that the war was being prolonged for imperialist and capitalist ends, demanding an immediate armistice for discussion of peace terms, and affirming that the white races were being exterminated, and that, in view of the sparse population of Australia, it was undesirable that further men should leave the country. These resolutions were after long debate carried amid enthusiasm, and sent along as recommendations to the Inter-State Conference.

The Inter-State Conference at Perth, which concluded on June 25th, passed the following resolution on the subject of the war:—

"The attitude of Labour towards the publicly declared objects of the war is what it was at the outbreak of the war: (*a*) For liberty, democracy and the independence of small nations; (*b*) for honouring publicly made treaties; and (*c*) for the maintenance of public and international law.

"The aims of Labour in participating in the war purposed: (*a*) assistance to Britain under the voluntary system, maintaining the publicly declared objects for which she entered the war, and those only, to the best of our capability, consistent with Australia's paramount essential needs; (*b*) bringing about an enduring world peace on terms of equity and justice to all mankind.

"Further participation in recruiting shall be subject to the following conditions: (*a*) a clear authoritative statement to be made on behalf of the Allies, asserting readiness to enter into peace negotiations upon the basis of no annexations, no penal indemnities; (*b*) that Australia's requirements in man-power be ascertained, and met in respect to home defence and industrial requirements. Immediate inquiry, upon which the Australian Labour Party shall be adequately and officially represented, to be held, and its decisions given immediate effect.

"Provided this determination shall be immediately submitted by each State executive under the direction of the Federal Executive, with a recommendation from the conference for adoption, to a referendum of the members of all branches and affiliated organisations, and shall become operative upon a majority of votes being cast in the affirmative, the ballot to close not later than November 1st. In the event of the ballot being interfered with by the Federal Government, the decision is to become operative at once."

THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS.

In the *Isvestia* of May 30th appears a statement by Trotsky explaining that for some months previously the Czecho-Slovak troops had been endeavouring to leave Russian territory. The Soviet Government had taken all necessary measures to facilitate their departure by Vladivostok, but had made it conditional on the surrender of all arms save a small number of rifles per company for patrol service. With the assent of the Local Soviets the Czecho-Slovak troops were moving eastwood when the Japanese landing at Vladivostok and Semenoff's bands made it impossible for the troops to proceed and the Soviet Government decided that they should wait until arrangements could be made for them to sail via Archangel. Meanwhile counter-revolutionaries, with the Socialist Revolutionaries of the right as prime movers, were agitating amongst the Czecho-Slovaks and pretending that the Soviet Government had dark designs against them. Some of the Czecho-Slovak officers, numbers of whom were Russians, were connected with the counter-revolutionaries. The condition of surrendering arms had not been honestly complied with and the agitation led the Czecho-Slovaks to use them against the Soviets. The Peoples Commissariat for War then issued a statement expressing sympathy with the Czecho-Slovak workers and peasants, but declaring that the seizure of military stations and other acts of violence (as happened in Novo-Nikolaievsk) could not be tolerated, ordering, therefore, that the Czecho-Slovaks be immediately disarmed, but promising that steps would be taken to enable them to leave Russia with the least possible delay.

RUSSIAN PROTEST.

The Russian Socialists Groups in London at their General Meeting on August 3rd placed on record their disapproval of intervention, in view of the following:—

"(1) That the Russian Revolution is threatened from the enemy from within as well as from without. (2) That all the strength of the Russian proletariat is needed for the organisation and creation of the new order after the demolition of the old regime. (3) That at this particular moment any steps taken against the Soviet Government, no matter from what side, serve only the counter-revolution and interfere with the creative work of the Soviets.

"We protest most emphatically against any interference of foreign Governments in the internal affairs of the Russian Soviet Republic and against all attempts on their part to start a new war against th Soviets, which represent and defend the interests of the majority of the Russian people. We hope that English democracy will come to our aid in time and will not allow international imperialism to crush the first Socialist Revolution in the world...."

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

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RUSSIA.

Our news from Russia is that the situation, from the point of view of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, is still hopeful. The Soviet troops have had many victories and, much better still, their hold on the confidence of the mass of the people remains firm. The food shortage is acute, but the harvests are already being gathered. In some districts the Soviets send armoured trains to the fields and the grain being gathered, taken away in the train lest enemies should seize it.

No confidence should be placed in the Russian news which appears in the press unless the telegrames come through the Bolshevik agency. Phillips Price in *The Manchester Guardian* and Arthur Ransome in *The Daily News* are the most reliable of the capitalist press correspondents. The latter writes:—

"The rumours, mostly from German sources, of the collapse of the Soviet, the evacuation of Moscow, and the flight of the Soviet leaders, &c., should be treated with extreme scepticism,...the Soviet is still the only organised and organising force within the country....There are two main centres in European Russia—Moscow, where there is a Government of workmen and peasants, and Kieff, which is the centre of a Monarchic movement, supported by the Germans....The quasi-Monarchic Government at Kieff....has against it practically the whole working population of the towns—who, after experiencing the counter-revolution, now look with definite hope towards Moscow—and the great mass of the peasants—who, seeing their corn taken by the Germans and their land by the old landowners, are now daily laying down their lives in the struggle against the Germans and for the old reforms which left the country when the Germans drove out the Soviets."

Just as the workers and peasants of the Ukraine are longing to regain the Soviets, so the workers and peasants of Great Russia are anxious to maintain them.

A proof that the Czecho-Slovak movement, to which the counter-revolution has rallied, is less successful than is pretended, is to be found in the statement from General Diterichs, the Czecho-Slovak Commander in Eastern Siberia, published in *The Times*:—

"It is quite clear that the position of our troops is becoming daily more serious, whereas the forces of the enemy are growing. The task of our eastern detachment becomes, if not impossible, at least very difficult and without any guarantee of success.... If our troops do not succeed by the approach of winter, six weeks hence, in reaching their destination it is clear that this will be equivalent to the loss of all our troops."

But though the Soviet position is much better than its enemies pretend, as Lenin has warned the Socialists of the world, it is faced by many dangers. Allied, Czecho-Slovaks, and Counter-Revolutionary forces are harassing at Murmansk and Archangel and Vladivostok, and at various points in Eastern Central, and Western Siberia. The Czecho-Slovaks are even in Central Russia. A British force has arrived at Baku, no doubt intending to strike northward through the Caucasus, if it can. It has come through neutral Persia! All these forces are small, too small to endanger the Workers' Government. The greatest danger to Russia is that Germany, advancing to expel the forces of the nations with which she is at war, will gain control of Russia and put an end to the Soviet rule. Though the Allies are invading Russia in spite of the Soviet protests, the Soviet Government is doing its utmost to avoid war, having no quarrel with the Allied peoples. The Soviet Government has implored the representatives of the Allies not to leave Russia, and when they left Vologda urged them not to go to Archangel, but to Moscow, where complete safety was promised them. Vologda grew to be a hot-bed of counter-revolution during the residence there of the Allied representatives, and it became unsafe for them to remain there as counter-revolutionary plots to secure Allied intervention by any means, in order to crush the Soviets, endangered their safety. Hostile acts, such as the assassination of the German Count Mirbach may now be expected from the left wing of the Social Revolutionaries, whose tactics are terrorist and who have accused the Bolsheviki of too much toleration towards both the Central Empires and the Allies. The policy of the Bolsheviki has always been to educate the masses, not to assassinate a few tyrants. The Socialist Revolutionaries who are to-day used by the Capitalist Press as a weapon with which to attack Socialism were those who in the Czar's day, as now, resorted to assassination.

Reports of executions and violent punishments by the Soviet Government must usually be dismissed as false. Alexandra Balabanoff, the Bolshevik, was said to have been executed by the Soviets months ago, but she is alive and well. The same is true of Marie Spindonova, the Left Social Revolutionary, and of the 200 Social Revolutionaries recently said to have been shot.

The following report, received by the Russian Government from the Peoples' Commissary, Kedrov, at Archangel, and officially transmitted to this country, shows that members of the forces who are intervening in Russia are in some cases executing members of the Soviets:—

"Two scouts with forged documents sent out by the Military Staff of the Entente at Kem, have been arrested in the neighbourhood of Archangel. The first of them, a Serbian, late pupil of the officers training school of Tver—named Ilyitsch—related that he has been on an armoured train together with French, English and Serbians, who visited Kem, Isle of Papov, Jemtchuzhino-Angozero, disarmed deputies of the Council Soviet, confiscated arms and arrested members of the Railway Committee. During his visit at Kem, he saw how three members of the Executive Committee of the Soviet at Kem; Kamenoff, Malishoff and Vitsup have been shot by a Serbian Military Unit, commanded by Messrs. Sirdensky and Orshevitch. The members of the Executive Committee have been arrested during their Meeting session and shot on the beach near the meeting place of the Soviet deputies. Admiral Kemp declared that the reason for which the members of Executive Committee have been shot, was their resistance. This is not true; it is contradicted not only by the statement of Ilyjtsch, but also by some other witnesses."

The Allied proclamation at Archangel stating that no Russian Government will be recognised which does not regard itself as at war with Germany; and the co-operation of the Allies with the Counter-Revolutionary so-called "North Russian Government," which demands the abolition of the Soviets and the substitution of the Zemstvos and Constituent Assembly shows plainly enough that Socialism is attacked. Workers of Britain does not this concern you!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING.

We give below the answers to a number of questions which have been asked concerning our account of the Russian Soviet Republic.

How is the Council formed which advises the workshop committees on technical questions?

The Supreme Council of National Economy is appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The Local Councils of National Economy are appointed by the local Soviets. The trade unions also send representatives to these councils.

Where are the elections held for the workers' representatives on the Local and National Soviets?

In the factories and workshops.

Do women vote in the Soviet elections?

Yes.

The franchise is possessed by all citizens of either sex who have completed their eighteenth year: Workers and employees of all kinds engaged in industry and agriculture, peasant and Cossack agriculturists who do not employ hired labour, workers and employees in the Soviet and Government institutions, soldiers of the Soviet army, and sailors of its navy. Excluded from the franchise are: All who employ labour for profit, have an unearned income, all traders and middlemen, all servants of religious cults, all employees and agents of the former police, gendarmerie, and Secret Service; all members of the former reigning family, the insane, the deaf and the dumb, and criminals. It would appear that the intellectuals are excluded from political power except in so far as they are public servants.

What body appoints the Ministers of State?

The Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

How often are elections held for the All-Russian Congress of Soviets?

Delegates are appointed for each Congress, which has hitherto been held every three months. It is proposed to hold it now every six weeks.

Is Proportional Representation used?

Yes, for the National and Local Soviets, for President of National and Local Soviets, and for the Executive Committees of National and Local Soviets.

Is the Referendum in force?

Yes, but it has not been applied, though it is being demanded to express national self-determination in the provinces now occupied by Germany, Esthonia, &c.

Do the workers still belong to trade unions?

Yes, they cannot obtain employment without a trade union card.

OPINIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE PEOPLE.

DEAR EDITOR,—The state of affairs in Russia as described in THE DREADNOUGHT of August 3rd is certainly not Socialism as we expect to have it in this country? It is far too like slavery as we already have it in our capitalistic republics. There is, it appears, compulsory labour and an equal bare subsistence wage, combined with private property in capital and liberty to charge competition prices for education and managerial ability. That is what Mr. Belloc calls the Servile State with a vengeance. But it is absurd to pronounce upon a welter of transition as if it were an achieved and stable system. All commercially developed countries present examples of the exploitation of Socialist organisation by capitalism and by exceptional commercial ability. A single central organ to pool and distribute the products of industry is as necessary to a Socialist State as a heart is to a man. There is no organ of the kind equal to the work in Russia at present. There is no government in law, and it is impossible to discover whether there is any government in fact that controls more than a section of the country, or how far, even in that undefined section, its control is really effective. When we are told that "it is only the counter-revolutionary who is not allowed to carry arms, *though he usually does*," we are evidently very far from the conditions which Socialism requires. A State which cannot organise an effective police obviously cannot organise a co-operative commonwealth.

G. BERNARD SHAW.

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DEAR EDITOR,—There is nothing in the Bolshevik scheme of things that is startling to any one excepting the political Socialist, National Guildsmen, and the capitalist class. In general their principles have been propagated for a number of years in this country amongst the workers in our most strongly organised industries. The difference, if any, consists in a difference of language. Substitute "Industrial Democracy," "workers' control of industry," &c., for "Soviet control," &c., and it all vanishes. These principles, I may add, are not something hatched in the nimble brain of a professional agitator or politician but grow out of the existing economic conditions.

It is the workers organised within the industries they work that must form the basis of the future society; and it is not in the least surprising to find this point of view opposed not only by capitalists; but also by professional politicians and middle-class hangers-on to the Labour movement. They are fighting for a place in the sun and, alas! the sun provides no place for them.

One point I am, however, curious about and should be obliged if someone better acquainted with the state of affairs in Russia would enlighten us upon. It is one that was put years ago to an enthusiastic exponent of these principles from America while on a visit to South Wales. What arrangements are made, if any, for the married women to have a voice in the councils, &c.? Our American visitor had to admit that this had been overlooked, and was a weakness, since Industrial Unionists claim that everyone rendering useful service to the community had an organisation to belong to, and therefore a voice in the control of affairs.

I repeat there is nothing new or startling in the suggestion of building a new society upon the basis of industry, and if to subscribe to these principles means associating oneself with the Bolsheviks then I am happy to be of the number.—Yours, &c.,

W. H. MAINWARING.

* * * * *

DEAR EDITOR,—It is hard now, when the Bolsheviks are at bay, fighting for us against the two Leagues of Imperialist nations, to criticise coldly their policies and their deeds, but it is perhaps worth doing.

Most of the adverse criticism from within our own movement has been entirely doctrinaire, taking no account of circumstances or of the astonishingly difficult *milieu* in which the Bolsheviks have had to work. That is perhaps inevitable, just because we have no data for any more valuable type of criticism. Only, the fact ought to be realised, and I for one confess that these remarks of mine are purely doctrinaire, and possibly entirely beside the point.

That constantly recurring criticism that the Bolsheviks are building on purely syndicalist lines appears to me a pure misconception. The Soviets are not industrial unions, but local representative bodies elected by individuals. The whole Soviet system is based not on industrial but upon geographical groupings, and is thus as far removed as possible from Syndicalist schemes.

My own main criticism, indeed, is rather that—probably inevitably—there has been too much stress laid upon the political, too little upon the economic reorganisation. The Works Councils and Industrial Committees are a beginning—but only a beginning—and the hardest task of the Revolution, apart from the coping with external foes, will be the building up of an industrial system democratic from bottom to top—of what I should call a system of guilds.

One other point: the queer notion of some Socialists that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is a bad thing, and that all classes should be on an equality in the new society. Surely the abolition of the other classes by their absorbtion into the workers is precisely the first object of a social revolution, and surely while they persist in maintaining a separate existence they can scarcely be accepted as part of a Socialist society? The amiable folk who want to see a capitalist and rentier class preserved and protected by a Socialist régime have scarcely grasped the elements of the matter.—Yours, &c.,

W. N. EWER.

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DEAR EDITOR,—A practical outcome of the leading article in the issue of August 3rd might well be that candidates for Parliament should be questioned not only as to how far they agree with Bolshevist ideals, but as to what extent they are prepared to go in carrying them out. For instance, are they prepared to regard their Parliamentary work as a whole-time job and to live upon the £400 they receive for doing it?—Yours, &c.

J. E. FRANCIS.

THE TRUTH IN A NUTSHELL.

The Times Vladivostok correspondent says: "Considerable crowds lined the streets to witness the march of French troops through the town....At the saluting point at the Czech Headquarters there was some cheering among the better-dressed people in the crowd. The large Bolshevist element, of course, looks upon foreign troops as taking the bread out of their mouths." Were these "better-dressed people" Counter Revolutionaries who oppose the Bolshevik determination to secure social and economic equality?

SOCIALIST EDUCATION. By Eden & Cedar Paul.

V.—Independent Working-Class Education.

We may fitly begin this section with a quotation from the Plebs League's pamphlet, 'What Does Education Mean to the Workers?': "If the aim of the Labour movement is a real social reconstruction, then, in spite of all the hindrances thrown in the way by those interested in the preservation of the existing order, it must enable its members to attain *a full and clear knowledge of the facts about society*. Now, where are the workers to turn to for full and clear knowledge of this kind? Obviously the State will not supply it—any more than it will finance the workers to overthrow the capitalist order of society. The State exists to defend the existing order; and the people who draw profit, rent, and interest, control "State" education. The State may be left to provide education in the elementary subjects.....although there may be ample room for improvement in the way these subjects are taught to the children of the workers. But the Labour movement will be neglecting its own vital interests if it omits to provide, *and to control*, its own educational institutions, in which an exact knowledge of the foundations and development of society may be taught....A master class will not teach the truth to a subject class; it is indeed incapable of seeing the truth as that subject class sees it. Antagonism of interests between two classes of society means antagonistic views as regards the desirability or otherwise of "reconstruction"; or, at least, as regards the extent and thoroughness of that reconstruction. *The Labour movement has its basis in the antagonism of interests existing between Capital and Labour. Then the education with which it is concerned must be based on a recognition of this same antagonism.*"

We have shown that we do not fully agree with one proposition in this admirable passage, namely, that "the State may be left to provide education in the elementary subjects." As is obvious from the previous sections, we are in this matter even more revolutionary than the above-quoted exponents of the Plebs League policy, and we desire to urge upon organised Labour that it is eminently desirable, in the interests of rapid progress towards what the pamphlet euphemistically terms "reconstruction," to make a widespread effort to supersede the State in the education of very young children and of children of school age. But there are two justifications, practical and philosophical respectively, for the phrase we deprecate. In the first place, it is far easier to step in with the provision of a definitely Socialist education at an age when the children of the workers have been surrendered by the State educators as finished products, than it is to oust the State from the field of elementary education, a field where the capitalist regime has long been strongly entrenched. In the second place, until the age of 14 or 15, until puberty (to use the scientific term), the aims of Socialist education to-day are to a large extent identical with those which will be the aims of Socialist education in the co-operative commonwealth—namely, to aid and guide that expansion of individuality which is the main purpose of education and of the whole art of life. During these earlier years of growth, the function of education has (in our opinion) an individual far more than a social reference; but the aim of assisting satisfactory, healthful, and happy individual development coincides to a remarkable extent with the aim of fitting the child to become a harmonious member of a social community—whether that community be of the comparatively low type that prevails to-day or of the high type that will prevail in the future. The general aptitudes and habits we encourage are desirable in a society of either type. Conversely, the habits and aptitudes we discourage and counter-suggest are those which would unfit the child to become a happy and happiness-conferring citizen whether in the republic of Plato or in the dregs of Romulus. To a degree, therefore, elementary education by the capitalist State might be improved so as to render it tolerably acceptable to the workers; and we have agreed, nay insisted, that "school age" is not a period of life during which it is desirable to draw undue attention to the history or the actualities of the class struggle. But after puberty the case is vitally altered. The expanding mind is now forming its general theories, its philosophy of life. There is no possible harmony between the outlook which a master class must desire a servile class to have and the outlook which it is desirable for the members of that class to have in view of the possibilities of and necessity for revolt. Nor is there any harmony between the educational needs of the young adult workers in the class State of to-day and those of the young adult workers in the co-operative commonwealth of the future. The adult proletarian in the capitalist world of to-day has a different part from that which will be played by the adult freeman or freewoman of the polity of to-morrow. He and she (for they stand or fall together) must be made class-conscious, must become fully aware of the existence and nature of the class struggle, must learn how they can employ their energies in the great movement by which class rule will ultimately be overthrown. Either that, or remain in the *Lumpenproletariat*, dumb driven cattle, neither desiring nor deserving a better fate. There is but one more alternative—to seize one of the scant opportunities still offered the workers to climb out of the class in which they were born. We are realists, and have no grudge against those whose tastes induce them to avail themselves of such a glorious chance!

But to hammer the cold iron hot on the anvil of the first alternative, this is the function of the Plebs League, founded in 1908, which seeks "to further the interests of independent working-class education as a partisan effort to improve the position of Labour in the present, ultimately assisting the abolition of wage-slavery." This is the object of the Central Labour College, founded in 1909 by several districts of the South Wales Miners and by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. This is the object of the affiliated bodies and classes now being organised all over the United Kingdom. This is the object of similar organisations in various Continental countries and in the U.S. But before we give a very brief account of these, let us quote from the preamble of the Central Labour College—a document, we think, destined to rank in Socialist history beside the Communist Manifesto and the preamble of the American Industrial Workers of the World. "To the organised Labour movement we appeal for support upon a question which lies at the very foundation of working-class organisation. We do not trust our economic security to the good intentions of the possessing class. We do not rely upon the politics of our employers for measures of progressive legislation. We establish our own economic fortifications, we have our own political weapons, we control our own literature. Why, then, should we not as independently manage our own educational affairs? Even as we have a platform of our own and a press of our own, let us have educational institutions of our own.... The working class must achieve its own salvation. It must develop its own social intelligence....Our aim is simply 'the education of the workers in the interests of the workers.'"

Now this movement on behalf of independent working-class education is world-wide. It is one of the new trinity of Socialist methods. The old trinity, of which the present writers used to hear so much during some years spent in France before the war, was the trade union movement (old style), the parliamentary Socialist movement, and the co-operative movement. Let none underrate their importance, but it is largely historic. The new trinity consists of industrial unionism, workers committees (or soviets), and independent working-class education. The "persons" in a trinity should be co-equal, but we sometimes incline to a heretical exaltation of the importance of the third item in our list. At any rate the third item is the subject of the present series of articles, and we shall welcome any information our comrades can furnish as to the present state of the movement in other lands. Our own knowledge is extremely fragmentary, and during the temporary suspension of Western civilisation we can hardly expect to increase it greatly. The reference in our second section to "the workers' educational committees" whose "attention has here and there been turned to child education," and indeed E. H.'s whole article shows that something of the kind is going on in Germany. In France, in many large industrial centres, there are Popular Universities (*Universités populaires*) which really deserve their name, i.e., they are genuinely working-class institutions and are run in working-class interests (as understood by those whose outlook on the class struggle is that expounded in this essay); they have nothing in common with such benevolent institutions as the University Extension Movement or the W.E.A. in this country. In Russia, one may presume, it has been some such movement as ours, working more or less underground since the first revolution of 1905, which has contributed to render possible the Bolshevist Revolution of November, 1917. In the U.S. we believe that the Rand School of Social Science pursues kindred aims. Its new home, the "House of Man" in New York City, has a lecture theatre seating six hundred persons. In Austria there is an energetic body called the Friends of Children which undertakes independent working-class education, but is concerned rather with children of school age than with the teaching of economics and history from the Socialist standpoint to those whose elementary education has been finished. A fuller account of the activities of this body must be deferred to the next section. Enough has been said to show that in wishing to extend, co-ordinate, and internationalise all efforts of this kind, with a view to the exalting of the powers of the third person in the new Socialist trinity, our voice is by no means that of one crying in the wilderness.

BACK TO THE LAND.

WHAT SOME DISCHARGED SOLDIERS WANT.

The Sheffield branch of the National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers has sent us the following scheme:—

SMALL ALLOTMENTS OR HOLDINGS FOR DISCHARGED SAILORS AND SOLDIERS.

It is submitted that the following scheme for placing discharged sailors and soldiers who may have some knowledge and desire to go on the land and become "food producers," at the same time relieving the Government of the interminable expense of pensions, at a comparatively small initial cost, by commuting the pensions of men and giving them a "freehold" in their own right, in view of the pensions earned. It is claimed there are hundreds, if not thousands, who would readily take an offer of this kind, and would succeed if only a little instruction could be arranged so that they were not left floundering for lack of advice, the instruction could be either oral or a postal course, followed by an examination to satisfy as to progress, &c.

It is suggested that the Government have access to Crown or Common Lands, which could be split up into small holdings of not more than "three acres," which, it is maintained, is all that one man and his family could manage among themselves; on each of these holdings a six-roomed cottage, with a bathroom complete, should be built, with the necessary out-buildings, such as a tool-shed, pig-stye, hen-house for 150 heads of poultry.

Division of Land.

1 acre of good garden land.
1 acre of grass land.
1 acre for a house, and orchard to take all kinds of fruit-trees, &c.

With such a garden, worked on the Intensive System, it would provide a good living for the man and his family, and make him an independent and self-respecting citizen.

Locality.

It should be adjacent to a town, with not too distant trail or tram facilities for him to get his produce to the market; or some Co-operative Collecting System could be operative, so manipulated that the small-holder could not be exploited by the wholesaler.

Cost.

What would be the cost? Three acres of land. This he has paid for with his blood and family sacrifice. It is only a bit of the land he has fought for.

House.

A shelter for his family. The politician, statistician and the capitalist see to it that they are not the producers of large families, therefore they must be compelled to see that the lads that have fought for the protection of their homes shall not be wanting for shelter (and not a pigstye) for their families which they have produced for the future benefit of the Empire. It is maintained that the cost of these dwellings would not be more than £250, inclusive of out-buildings.

Capital.

We then claim not less than £100 of capital on loan (at the option of the claimant), without interest, to be repaid to the Government at the rate of £5 per ann., commencing at the end of the second year. A safeguard could be made that the holder could not dispose of the holding until after five years or not until he had redeemed the loan, which he would have the freedom to do when desirable.

Decease.

In the event of decease the property would come under the custody of the survivor, *i.e.* (husband or wife). On the decease of the last survivor the property would be sold, the Government having the priority of purchase at the market value. The proceeds being subject to the will of the last survivor.

Disposal of the Property.

In the event of the Government purchasing property of deceased, it is desirable that the property should be held in reserve for another discharged soldier or sailor, who may require it, in order to keep the Plots to the purpose for which they were originally intended.

Solution of the Housing Problem.

The politician is crying out for a housing scheme for 500,000 houses. We submit here a scheme which may well go a long way to ease the congestion, by taking out of the Towns the partially disabled who are able to work sufficiently to earn a livlihood by either gardening, poultry farming, or rearing pigs, or the many side lines which would be open if a man had the land and accommodation for development.

The eventual development could be accentuated by centres of instruction in horticultire, the science of poultry rearing, pig breeding, and marketing, and in many other ways.

N.B.—It is also desirable that the pension should not be touched until one year after entry on the holding. And some guarantee in the form of a preliminary examination, in whatever business the man has decided to follow as a main means of support. The examination being the result of the instruction given either by oral or postal instruction.

This is submitted as a basis upon which a scheme may be considered.

[*Useful suggestions and criticisms are invited, but we advocate the complete socialisation of the land.*—Ed. W.D.]

ILLEGAL RENT-RAISING.

News reaches us from Melksham, Wilts., that farmers have raised the rents of their farm labourers' cottages from 1*s.* weekly to 3*s.* per week. In one instance the man had lived in the cottage for twenty-eight years. It is noteworthy that these increases of 2*s.* per week date from the fixing of 30*s.* as minimum wage for agriculture labourers. This wage includes cost of all allowances such as milk, housing and land. Therefore, these landlords by their actions are infringing the law in two ways: first the Rent Act which forbids raising rent, and secondly the minimum wage, which makes no allowance for increasing by two hundred per cent houses or other supplies which are part of wages. It is simply robbing the unfortunate labourers.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23rd.
Rathbone Street, Canning Town.—11.30 A.M. Miss Price.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24th.
Great Push in Waterloo Road on Socialism, Peace, and Votes for All.—Meet at 3 P.M. and 6.15 P.M.; outside "Old Vic." Speakers: Mrs. Davies, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, Mr. H. E. Russell.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 25th.
The Flagstaff, Hampstead.—3 P.M., Miss Price.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—6.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

MONDAY, AUGUST 26th.
Hoe Street, Walthamstow.—7 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27th.
Clock Tower, Burdett Road.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30th.
Morpeth Street, Bethnal Green.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31st.
Great Push in Hammersmith

INDOOR.

MONDAY, AUGUST 26th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F. 2.30 P.M., Business meeting.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION NOTES.

BOW.—A Social and Dance will be held at 400, Old Ford Road, on Saturday, August 31st, at 7 P.M. Admission 8*d*.

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

THE IRON HEEL.

Although it has been publicly announced that the Embargo on skilled men is suspended, men leaving their jobs for better conditions find that various reasons are being given by the firms for not engaging them after promising a job. After all, the embargo stunt is merely the consummation of the Derby attestation scheme and one cannot discuss it except in relation to other circumstances. Side by side with the embargo we have the compulsory W.M.V. scheme, the determination of the State not to allow employers to pay above the district rate and the determination of the employers themselves to eliminate the comparatively highly paid workers. In *The Daily Chronicle*, August 17th, 1918, it is reported that a well-known firm of motor manufacturers employed in making shells was fined for increasing wages of certain workmen without permission, and we have evidence that it is the intention of the Federated Employers, to reduce the workers' wages to the bare minimum. The exigencies of the war have made it necessary to take men from the workshop and at the same time demand an enormous output of munitions, with the result that the demand for men especially skilled far exceeds the supply. The workers, recognising this, go where they can get the biggest pay. To counteract this the Munitions Act, with its leaving certificates, was put on the Statute Book. Persistent agitation succeeded in abolishing the leaving certificates and again the workers began leaving their jobs for higher rates. The lower-rated firms kicked and to keep the worker on the border line of bare subsistence came the compulsory W.M.V. scheme and the embargo. And now another Army Order has been issued.

The Daily News of August 7th says that: "By an Army Order issued last night a soldier released from military duty for civil employment shall not be entitled to Army pay or allowances, notwithstanding that he has not been discharged or transferred to the Army Reserve"—which means that it will be possible to put us all in khaki without any pay except our ordinary wages. And what is the next step, my comrades? With the embargo and industrial compulsion in full operation the workers will, in all probability, should the war last long enough, be placed on ordinary army rations, all of which is, of course, to "make the world safe for democracy." It is time we got a move on. Let us continue to develop the Shop Stewards Movement. Therein lies our only hope.

LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

At the second Newbold Lecture both the Speaker and Chairman, Cedar Paul, were in great form, and the audience was deeply interested. But we want the Hall packed. It is proposed to run Lectures throughout the winter, some on Thursdays, some Saturdays. Probably on September 5th W. F. Watson will again lecture on the 'Growth and Development of the Workers' Committee Movement.' Attempts are still being made to make the L.W.C. a representative body, but more associate members are required. Further particulars from T. F. Knight, 7 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.1.

A MOVE TOWARDS CO-ORDINATION.

On Friday, August 16th, a mass meeting of shop stewards was held at Holborn Hall to hear the final report of Rock victimisation case. W. F. Watson reported on the strike and inquiry. It was decided to issue a report in pamphlet form to sell at 2*d*. It was agreed that the Committee remains in existance until a more representative committee is elected. A resolution was unanimously adopted asking the Shops Committees to assist in organising mass meetings in their districts to get into immediate touch with the Provisional Committee and other shops in their areas and pledging the Provisional Committee to give effect to the Executive's recommendation to set up in London and its environs an administrative body representative of all workers regardless of craft, grade, or sex.

The pending women's strike was discussed, and it was decided to recommend the Shop Committees to give the women every possible support. Similarly with the Embargo. It was recognised that the only way effectively to combat the attempts to force Industrial Conscription upon us is by and through the Shops Committees. The Secretary reported a deficit of £19 and the shops are being asked to make it good.

By W. F. WATSON.

GENERAL STRIKES.

Their Objects and Results.

By T. C. Hollowell, Amalgamated Toolmakers.

In view of the fact that the State and the employers, assisted by renegades of the Labour Movement, are attempting to destroy the workers most powerful weapon, the strike, an examination of previous strikes, their objects and results would be quite in season.

Unfortunately the space at my disposal does not permit of going into details. I am informed by the editorial staff of The Dreadnought that if the circulation can be largely increased it will be possible to increase its size to six pages, whereupon Workshop Notes will have a full page and perhaps more. So it is up to all readers to push the paper in the Workshop and Branch.

Surely it is not necessary for me to dwell upon the power of the Press, that is sufficiently demonstrated every day. The workers's case never secures a fair hearing in the capitalist Press. To quote from *The State* by W. Paul:—

"At a banquet of newspaper men in New York (1916). In response to a toast of the Independent Press, Mr. John Swinton said: 'There is no such thing as an Independent Press unless it is in the country towns, and you know it. I am paid 150 dollars a week to keep my honest opinion out of the paper I am connected with. We are the tools and vassals of the rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping jacks. Our talents, our possibilities, and our lives are the property of other men. The business of the New York journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of mammon, and to sell his race and country for his daily bread."

In examining records of General Strikes it is interesting to note that the Armed Forces of the State have been invariably used against the workers.

The first General Strike on record—which was also victorious— occurred in Rome (B.C. 494), when the Plebians marched in revolt to the Sacred Mount. The Syndicalists regard this as a good augury for direct action.

Considering general strikes under modern capitalism, we find that wages have not always been the question at issue. For instance in 1874 10,000 workers struck in Alicante, Spain, for social reconstruction (blessed words). This strike was suppressed presumably by the military machine.

The great American eight-hour strike of 1886 teaches us many lessons. Riots were deliberately caused by armed Pinkertons and the police. Bomb outrages were engineered; men were jailed and executed; workers were set against workers as they have been recently in this country; married *v.* single, under 24 *v.* over 24, &c. Divide and rule is the object and the moral is obvious.

THE NEXT INTER-ALLIED SOCIALIST CONFERENCE.

Another Inter-Allied Socialist and Labour Conference is to be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on September 17th, 18th, and 19th. What will this Conference do regarding the Allied attack on the Russian Socialist Government? What steps will it take to secure a meeting of the International? Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour is said to have asked for the conference which he will attend. Is he about to modify his jingoism, or does he hope to stampede the conference?

MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON.

Our congratulations to her on having won freedom to return home to Ireland. This she accomplished by showing that she could neither be kept alive in prison nor, if at large, out of Ireland.

THE LUXURY TAX.

This tax will never be completely enforced even by the costly army of officials who will be employed. More money would be saved by stopping the war. The shopkeeperj will, of course, make the purchaser pay the tax!

ALLIED FOOD CONTROL.

Press notices of the Allied food controllers' deliberations indicate that food prices will rise again. The profiteers are being safe-guarded as usual. Guileless people would think that Allied co-operation would prevent prices rising in Allied markets: it *might*, but it won't under present conditions. When will the workers —the great majority— decide to manage these things for themselves?

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

WOMEN WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton.—Hostess, Miss Turner.

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INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS.
Dear Friends of Humanity,—In order to relieve the terrible poverty and suffering that is devastating Europe, let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the state, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.
The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late.
S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.
[Advt

PIGEON CHEST, SPINAL CURVATURE, KNOCK-KNEES, AND FLAT-FOOT
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WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.
REMEMBER THE DATE!
YOU are cordially invited to our RUSSIAN "AT-HOME," on Sunday Afternoon, SEPTEMBER 8th, at 4 p.m., in the Hall, 400 Old Ford, Road, E.3.
Music, Songs, Recitations, Refreshments. Short Speeches by Russian Friends. COME and BRING YOUR FRIENDS WITH YOU.

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WOOLWICH LABOUR PARTY
ROYAL ARSENAL SHOP STEWARD'S COMMITTEE.
Under the above auspices a
Great Labour free speech and free press Demonstration
Will be held on
PLUMSTEAD COMMON
On Saturday, August 31st, 6 p.m.
Speakers, J. Ramsay Macdonald M.P., Jack Sheppard.
Chair, J. E. Mills.
Procession assembles at Plumstead Station, 5.15 p.m.
Other Information from Mr. C. NEW, Acting Secretary, Woolwich Trades Council, 3, New Road, S.E. 18.

"DREADNOUGHT" ON SALE
At Mrs. CARFORD'S,
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B. S. P. (Central London). Every Tuesday, 8 p.m., from September 3rd, at East-West Club (Minerva), 144, High Holborn. Subject for September 3rd, "IT," by Eden Paul. Admission Free.

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